

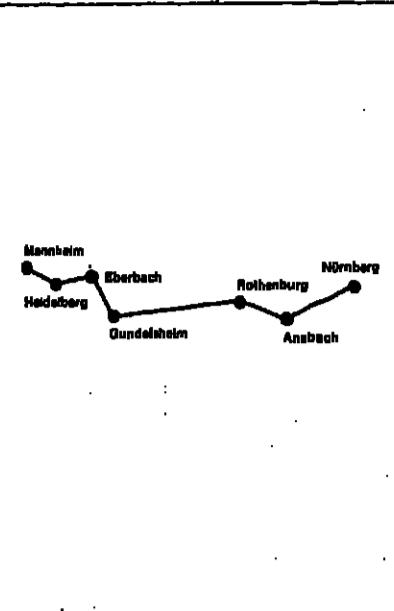
Routes to tour in Germany

The German Tribune

Hamburg, 23 April 1989
Twenty-eighth year - No. 1367 - By air

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Trade: Soviet case turns a truism on its head

Stuttgarter Zeitung

A claim which has often been confirmed in international relations is that trade is generally one step ahead of politics. Economists find it easier than diplomats to reach agreement.

But, in the case of the Soviet Union, the principal appears to have been reversed. The political thrust of attempts by Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachov to restructure Soviet society has opened up new and promising perspectives for western trading partners.

Trade relations have picked up markedly following a lull during recent years.

Forms of cooperation extend from joint ventures to the realisation of the old European dream of a joint exploitation of the vast raw materials deposits in the expanses of the East.

Gorbachov has paved the way for the beckoning opportunities by loosening the grip of central administration on industrial activities.

Apart from producing plenty of armament goods the previous system has pro-

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The head of the Soviet delegation dur-

ing this year's meeting of the joint German-Soviet trade commission in Bonn, Ivan Silayev, spoke of a "turn of events" in trade between Germany and the Soviet Union.

There has indeed been a turn of events, but not in the sense meant by Silayev.

In the past, it was the economy, especially the German economy, which functioned as a locomotive for East-West relations. Politicians tended to slow down this development.

It now looks as if politicians and the trading community have swapped positions.

Bonn Economics Minister Helmut

Hausmann urges German car manufacturers to intensify trade ties with the Soviet

Union, negotiations on the construction of a high-temperature reactor by a German company are picking up again, thanks to political activities in Bonn and Moscow, and the former stumbling-block, the Cocom list, was not even mentioned in the reports on the trade commission's meeting.

There are two reasons for this. On the one hand, Bonn apparently has a great interest in supporting the process of restructuring referred to by Silayev is the ideal of politicians; it has yet to be translated into

pros and cons and on a prior clarification of the prospects of investments in new cooperation deals or even joint ventures. It is too early to foresee all the consequences of such far-reaching decisions after just a short period of liberalisation. The law adopted in December on the setting up of joint ventures and the agreement now signed giving investments a framework of safeguards have improved the general setting of economic cooperation. Yet a great deal still needs to be clarified. This ranges from the role individual Soviet republics can play in shaping joint ventures to the detailed questions of foreign exchange arrangements. It is particularly difficult to find solutions at this stage of developments in the Soviet Union.

The functionaries who once made decisions are no longer in charge and the new generation of managers is not yet confident enough to be able to respond promptly and precisely to pressing questions. Frustration is inevitable. German partners in talks should make sure it is not unnecessarily increased.

Some politicians and many business men often seem to lack sensitivity in dealing with Soviet guests.

The fact that the Russians have to come here to learn how the market economy



DAMAGE to the environment in Africa was a major discussion point when the president of Mali, Moussa Traore, visited Bonn. Traore, here being greeted by Bonn President von Weltzäcker (right), is also head of the Organisation of African Unity (OAU).

(Photo: Nepp/Splodt)

works is difficult enough. This awkwardness becomes unbearable if they are confronted by the kind of condescension seen on many official occasions, in speeches as well as at table talk.

Whether the numerous contacts now being established in this field will develop into lasting partnerships depends to a considerable extent on the ability of the German partners to strike the right note.

It would be a shame to discover one day that the external conditions for flourishing cooperation have been created but that the human relations aspect has been disastrous. Helmut Maier-Mannhart

(Süddeutsche Zeitung, Munich, 13 April 1989)

Joint ventures still at a simple level

Handelsblatt
WIRTSCHAFTS-UND FINANZZEITUNG

turing in the Soviet Union both politically and economically.

On the other hand, Bonn and Moscow would like to crown Mikhail Gorbachov's mid-June visit to Bonn with the successful conclusion of spectacular trade agreements.

As opposed to politicians industry has not yet been seized by euphoria when it turns to the Soviet Union.

Trade in the narrower sense still dominates in this field, and this continues to be decisively dependent on the revenue the Soviet Union can obtain from its sales of oil and natural gas.

Contrary to Silayev's hopeful announcements German firms even tell of growing pressure by their Soviet partners to agree on bolder deals. This is certainly not a sign of progressive economic relations.

Helmut Schmitz
(Handelsblatt, Düsseldorf, 10 April 1989)

■ INTERNATIONAL

Visions of a Hungary looking towards reform



The West is showing a particularly keen interest in political changes in Hungary.

Yet hardly anyone considers the question of how and why such fundamental change is occurring now.

One could hardly claim that it is the inevitable product of historical necessity.

Many observers point towards the growing economic difficulties facing the country since the mid-Eighties.

Although these have been substantial they were never so great as to make a political about-turn a must.

The Hungarians are by far the most well-off country in the Communist world.

In no other part of the Eastern half of Europe have so many families been able to build a reasonably-sized house as in Hungary.

Admittedly, economic and social reforms make housekeeping money pretty meagre for a large section of the population. What is more, there is a clear pauperisation of part of Hungarian society.

Up to now, however, social discontent has not triggered political explosions. Writers, who have often given the signal for radical political change in Communist countries, have been restless for a long time in Hungary.

This restlessness only assumed political significance after Politburo member Imre Pozsgay, at the time general secretary of the "Popular Patriotic Front" — a group founded and carefully controlled by the Communist party — showed a more active interest in writers' complaints.

His visit to a writers' conference in Lakelecs in 1987, during which Hungarian reality was openly criticised, was almost an historic event.

It was here that a vision emerged of a possible Hungary of the future. Only if

ideas for reform are carried into the party do they stand a chance of being realised.

As, for example, in Czechoslovakia in 1967/68, where reformist ideas even emanated from higher-ranking party members.

Another example was Yugoslavia in 1970, where party leaders from several nations in the multinational state tried to overcome Tito's late Stalinism.

If a reform movement fails to gain the support of the higher echelons of the party in a country like Stalinist or Leninist forms of rule it has no option but to incite the man on the street or in the factory to fight against the authorities.

So far, however, the armed power of the state has always gained the upper hand in such a conflict.

In the Soviet Union, on the other hand, reform movements up to now have only been initiated in a top-down direction.

The de-Stalinisation of the 1950s was Khrushchev's own achievement, and he did not have many convinced supporters at the time.

After he was toppled his successors could not and did not want to revoke everything he had effected; the de-Stalinisation of Soviet socialism, however, was discontinued.

An interesting question is why Communist party leaders whose political and intellectual way of thinking was shaped in a period of Stalinism or late Stalinism are now open to reform ideas.

The answer lies in a conglomerate of determinant factors. One is the fear of losing power — a strange fear in view of the fact that the Leninist system of rule affords its rulers greater power than any other system.

The Stalinist leaders in Hungary and Poland were particularly worried about a possible loss of power after Stalin died, especially in 1956.

This explains their willingness to relieve the situation somewhat for their respective populations.

Before they could do so, however, they

were steamrollered by the momentum of historical events.

Sometimes there is a temptation to try and safeguard popular support in the power or successorship struggle.

As in the case of the Bulgarian Alexander, for example, whom the ruler Zhivkov ousted from office last summer.

The Hungarian Karoly Grosz also became more and more of a reformist in the struggle for succession to Janos Kadar.

Some Communist leaders turned into reformers out of despair that the party's economic and civilisatory goals to which they subscribed were moving further and further away from reality from one year to the next.

This is undoubtedly the intellectual and emotional road along which Gorbachov arrived at his policy of change.

In Hungary, not only Grosz but also his weaker — rival Janos Berecz may have pursued this course.

Many Communist leaders were tormented by the feeling of missing legitimacy: who gives the Politburo the right to rule over the people, particularly with such shameful results?

A great deal would suggest that the Hungarian Imre Pozsgay suffered as a result of such "pangs of conscience", in very much the same way as the leaders of reform in Czechoslovakia two decades previously.

Gorbachov and his adviser Yakovlev may have also sensed this shortcoming of the system.

Some Communist leaders became reformist Communists in the wake of a revival of national sentiment, for example, the Croats Tripalo and Savka Dabcevic-Kucar in Yugoslavia or the Slovenian Kavcic at the end of the Sixties.

Other Communist leaders would seem to fear the wrath of the Soviet Union if its country develops into a trouble spot because of inflexible policies. Poland's General Jaruzelski could be a case in point.

As a rule, the decision by Communist leaders to steer a course of reform is rooted in a whole set of motives.

In no single case, however, was this alteration of course predictable.

This in itself is a sobering experience for Communism: its protagonists are not bound by a straitjacket of determinism.

Johann Georg Reissmüller
(Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung
für Deutschland, 13 April 1989)

view with President Carter's former security adviser Zbigniew Brzezinski published in the same issue of the *Budapest Rundschau* also fits into this context.

Brzezinski, who was often branded as a Cold War campaigner by Communist propaganda because of his Polish descent, urges greater caution.

He predicts that the crisis in the Soviet Union will last for many years. A "serious relapse" in Moscow cannot be ruled out. If a coalition between the nomenklatura, the KGB and the army came to power, Hungary's scope for freedom would also be greatly restricted."

Brzezinski advises the Hungarians not to withdraw from the Warsaw Pact, but to transform it from within. The Pact should be changed in such a way that it is unable to exert "political pressure".

Membership of the East bloc alliance should not rule out a multi-party system and a free market economy in Hungary. Free elections should be allowed, but Soviet security should not be threatened.

The maintenance of the alliances would represent a guarantee for the Soviet Union, whereas the member countries would be able to choose their own system.

C.G. Ströhm
(Die Welt, Bonn, 13 April 1989)

Budapest thinks out loud about neutrality

West. Despite this qualification, there are definite signs that Budapest is toying with the opportunities of neutrality.

Strictly speaking, Warsaw Pact membership cannot be ended until one year before its official expiry, which means in the year 2004 at the earliest.

According to the *Budapest Rundschau*, however, this is not the case if a state can prove that the international military and political situation has changed in such a way as to make the treaty irrelevant.

The newspaper cites the example of General de Gaulle, who pulled France out of Nato's military organisation but left it in Nato's political alliance.

The article concludes with the hope "that European structures will also be able to change in the wake of international change and that the question of neutrality can then be raised in a new way." An inter-

view with President Carter's former security adviser Zbigniew Brzezinski published in the same issue of the *Budapest Rundschau* also fits into this context.

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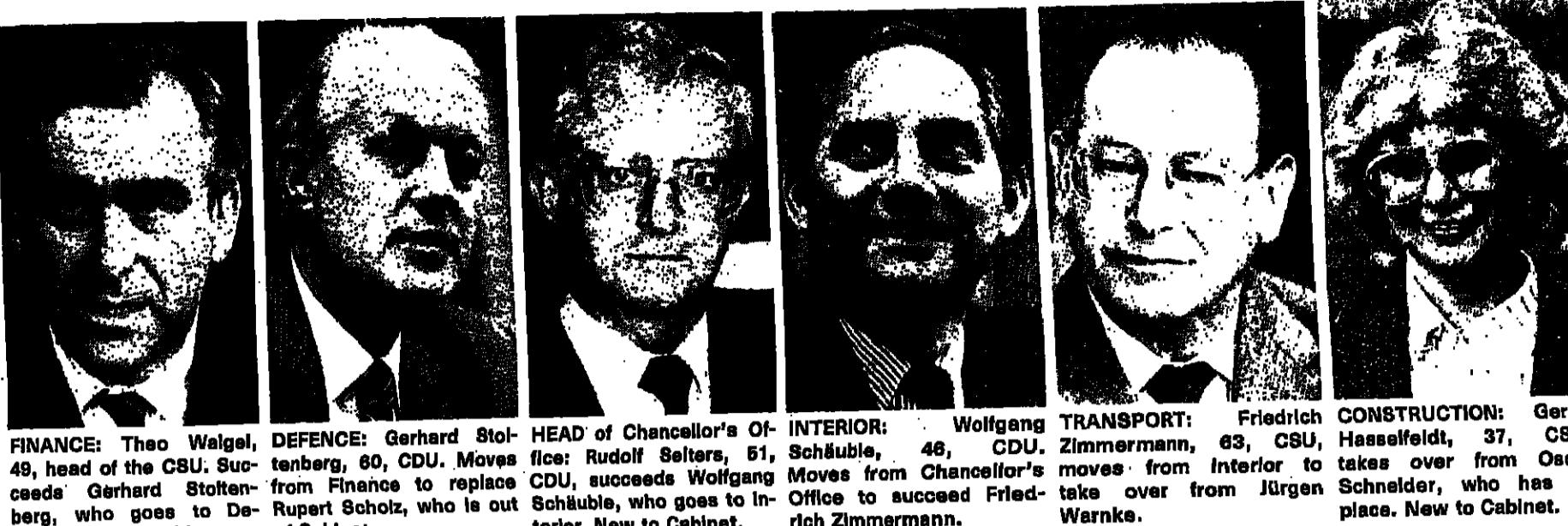
C.G. Ströhm
(Die Welt, Bonn, 13 April 1989)

Outbreaks pose a dilemma for Moscow

The disturbances in the Soviet Republic of Georgia, which have been bloodily suppressed by special troops, are not the first, and also not the last, in a chain of national rebellion which seized ethnic groups on the periphery of the Soviet Union.

This is undoubtedly the intellectual and emotional road along which Gorbachov arrived at his policy of change.

In Hungary, not only Grozis but also his



FINANCE: Theo Waigel, 49, head of the CSU. Successor: Gerhard Stoltenberg, 60, CDU. Moves from Finance to replace Rupert Scholz, who goes to Defence. New to Cabinet.

DEFENCE: Gerhard Stoltenberg, 60, CDU. Moves from Finance to replace Rupert Scholz, who goes to Defence. New to Cabinet.

HEAD OF CHANCELLOR'S OFFICE: Rudolf Seitzers, 61, CDU. Moves from Chancellor's Office to Interior. Successor: Wolfgang Schäuble, 46, CSU. Moves from Interior to take over from Rudolf Seitzers. New to Cabinet.

TRANSPORT: Friedrich Zimmermann, 46, CSU. Moves from Chancellor's Office to take over from Rudolf Seitzers. New to Cabinet.

CONSTRUCTION: Gerda Wernke, 37, CSU. Moves from Chancellor's Office to take over from Rudolf Seitzers. New to Cabinet.

■ HOME AFFAIRS

Changes in political mood force Cabinet changes

Städtezeitung

tion, therefore, are rooted in its start following the general election victory in 1987.

Since then Helmut Kohl has slackened the reins. He allowed the "major" tax reform to be flogged to death in public discussions, and the health reform developed its own negative momentum.

The much-praised appointment of Rupert Scholz as Defence Minister just under a year ago backfired.

The list of avoidable targets for criticism set up by the Chancellor could be extended.

Not at any rate before the next magical election date, the European parliamentary election on 18 June, and the local government elections in Rhineland-Palatinate.

As a clever calculator of power, however, he deserves the credit for having committed the unruly Bavarian CSU to a common route of march by giving the CSU a greater say in cabinet decisions.

The fact that CSU leader Theo Waigel, the new Finance Minister, has agreed to take on the post and thus do something which, for carefully considered reasons, his predecessor as CSU chairman, Franz Josef Strauss, always shied away from, is a success for Kohl's strategy of integration.

An even more important decision is Kohl's selection of a CSU Minister as the new "chief salesman" (government spokesman) of Bonn government policies.

When assessing the last two years of the third Kohl government both exaggerated praise and attempts to attribute the catastrophic image of the government to the Chancellor's own errors in the art of government should be avoided.

Moscow is drifting into a dilemma: either "having" to act against its own interests or "pacifying" by making concessions. Both responses are dangerous.

The election successes of the Franz Schönhuber's ultra-conservative Republicans are not just the result of a fashionable protest phenomenon, but also — and above all — the result of social changes for which the conservative-liberal government as a whole must assume responsibility.

The Chancellor himself can be criticised for not having realised the trends before it was too late.

In the case of his campaign on ethnic German immigrants he grossly misjudged the situation.

The generally poor image of government policy, however, is not just Chancellor Kohl's doing.

Other leading coalition politicians, whether members of the CDU, CSU or FDP, have been unable to reach agreement in important fields such as interior, legal and foreign policies.

The real congenital defects of the coalition

the public presentation of the government's activities.

This upvaluation of the CSU is a signal. Waigel and his fellow CSU colleagues in Bonn must now prove that they are able to alter the course.

The other reorganisational moves did not present any big surprises.

Kohl did not want to do without his long-standing comrade-in-arms Gerhard Stoltenberg, particularly since Stoltenberg's move from the Finance to the Defence portfolio serves as a logical justification for the expulsion of Rupert Scholz.

Wolfgang Schäuble's appointment as Interior Minister is viewed by many as a matter of course; it could turn out to be a stroke of genius.

Although this office did not suffer from a lack of leadership under Zimmermann it played an aggressive role of outsider and was unable to contribute that much to a convincing overall government image.

Schäuble's main task will be to defuse numerous controversies, especially with the coalition partner FDP, and attempt to bring about a lasting consensus on interior policy within the coalition. Kohl has mobilised his final reserves.

His party's general secretary, Heiner Geissler, however, refused to take on a cabinet post, and the FDP was clever enough not to disrupt the reorganisation.

They have reason to be sceptical, since the second phase of this Kohl government will be characterised by the desperate attempt to win back voters rather than by political highlights.

The Chancellor's fate depends on whether his coalition really believes that it can still achieve this breakthrough.

Martin E. Süsskind
(*Städtezeitung*, Munich, 14 April 1989)

Klein is sociable, has a smart appearance, is articulate and uses words skilfully. Probably no one else in the Bonn government apparatus can tell a joke or deliver a punch-line better.

The Press corps will have no complaint about lack of entertainment at press conferences.

He is also totally loyal to Chancellor Kohl without having to dissociate himself from the CSU in any way.

Klein was elected into the Bundestag in 1976. He soon gained a reputation as a foreign policy expert.

He worked in the diplomatic service as a press attaché for several years in three Arab countries and in Indonesia.

Political experience and contacts with politicians from all over the world have made Klein realise that he cannot be a "miracle man" no matter how hard he tries "to always do the right and most important thing for the Chancellor."

■ REGIONAL POLITICS

SPD, Greens agree on coalition terms

Süddeutsche Zeitung

Both the Social Democrats and the Greens have received overwhelming grass-roots endorsements for a coalition of the two parties in the Frankfurt city assembly.

In the election in March, the CDU lost its absolute majority, leaving the SPD the single biggest party but without enough seats to form a government on its own.

An SPD party conference approved the coalition with only one abstention. A Greens party meeting approved the plan by a large majority.

The rank and file of both parties want a strong coalition led by SPD mayor-elect Volker Hauff.

The SPD would have rather had an overall majority; and discussion before the respective final votes on the coalition revealed the disapproval of many details of the final compromise.

Above all, the Young Socialists (the SPD youth organisation) and the "Fundi" (fundamentalist) wing of the Greens were disappointed at the fact that the coalition delegations also negotiated without consulting the party rank and file, even though they realise that an agreement would have other-

wise been impossible. Some members of the SPD are upset because traditional Social-Democratic posts, such as education, women's affairs, foreigners and environment, are now held by Green politicians in the new Frankfurt city council. The Greens are unhappy at their inability to push through all their radical political demands for a future environmental, transport and housing policy.

The city's department of works, for example, a key institution for the future energy policy of the city, is not subject to the control of the new (Greens-run) environment department.

The hardliners in the respective party conferences were surprisingly isolated.

During the SPD party conference one delegate's remark that "the Greens remain our political opponent" and that the coalition is "anything but a love-match" did not get much applause.

At the Greens' meeting there was an equally cool response to Jutta Ditfurth's opinion that the only function



Coalition all tied up. Frankfurt's mayor-elect, Volker Hauff (SPD) with Margarethe Nimsch of the Greens. (Photo: dpa)

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Moog, however, will stay in office. The work of governing the city of Frankfurt can begin. Evelyn Roll
(Süddeutsche Zeitung, Munich, 13 April 1989)

After 17 years Stoltenberg calls it a day

Former Bonn Finance Minister, Kurt Stoltenberg has stepped down as chairman of the Schleswig-Holstein CDU after more than 17 years (now Bonn Defence Minister).

This decision was not a result of dirty-tricks scandal surrounding Schleswig-Holstein's ex-Premier Uwe Bösch (CDU).

It was taken at a time when the party had started to recover from this.

As Stoltenberg neither knew nor was involved in Bösch's intrigues and dealings the election of a new party chairman should not be interpreted as a product of the general "sweep up" of the party following this affair.

The party bid farewell to Stoltenberg by paying tribute to his contribution to its development throughout the year.

Nevertheless, the time was ripe for change.

Because of his commitments in Bonn Stoltenberg had been increasingly unable to take care of party business at home state.

Worn down by the discussion of reforms and the controversial withholding tax on capital savings he was unable to project an image of self-assurance of his party.

The party itself, struggling thus far to what is feasible in local government politics — especially in Hesse — will become most readily discernible in the educational and environmental policy fields.

There is, however, a new aspect to the efforts to establish a "Red-Green" coalition in Frankfurt.

The usual fuss made elsewhere about coalitions between these two political parties is missing in Frankfurt.

As opposed to their reaction following the agreement between the SPD and Greens to form a coalition in the Hesse state assembly several years ago companies and banks have not threatened to pull investments or production facilities out of the city of Frankfurt for fear of a possible "Red-Green" chaos.

Apart from his negotiations with the Greens Hauff would appear to have sustained his dialogue with important representatives of industry.

He never grows weary of explaining that the new coalition wants to "shape the dynamic growth of this metropolis in an ecologically and socially compatible manner" and not prevent it altogether.

At least this declaration of intent would also seem to be in the interests of a future-oriented industry.

As was only to be expected from the CDU in its role as opposition party there has been some strong criticism of the coalition's intentions.

Frankfurt's CDU chairman, Heinz Daum, called the coalition paper a "programme for the destruction of Frankfurt's future".

The future city council is to have a CDU deputy mayor, Hans-Jürgen Moog. Heinz Daum left no doubt about the fact that he would have preferred a constellation in which Moog does not provide the SPD-Greens coalition with an alibi of all-party representation.

Daum said that Moog himself had stated that he would not back the policy programme adopted by the SPD and the Greens.

Moog, however, will stay in office. The work of governing the city of Frankfurt can begin. Evelyn Roll
(Süddeutsche Zeitung, Munich, 13 April 1989)

■ SECURITY

Should German troops be used in UN peace-keeping forces?

**STUTTGARTER
ZEITUNG**

as a supposed world power. From 1871, the young German Reich failed in its attempts to learn to get to its feet as a colonial nation.

Now that a divided, a "wounded nation" as Elisabeth Noelle-Neumann (of the Allensbach opinion polling organisation) described it, is so involved with itself and its injuries, it is in even less of a position to help others with their problems.

A typical expression of this attitude is in Basic Law, Article 24 of which talks about "a system of reciprocal collective security" and, in Article 87a, provides that the Bundeswehr, the armed forces, are allowed only to be deployed for defence.

Generations of politicians have traced back to this the legal subterfuge that operations outside the Nato zone are not permissible and, as a consequence, neither is participation in United Nations peace missions.

That is a matter of subterfuge is shown by a brief that Vogel arranged for when he was Minister of Justice. The reality is that the political will is missing.

That is partly understandable because the problem has so far been discussed under American pressure; the Germans, as a Nato power, are meant to adopt a world political role in cases where, for example, crude-oil routes in the Persian Gulf or other strategically significant areas for the alliance are involved.

The government in Bonn has, riding over hefty domestic criticism, even extended the length of conscription to reassure the Americans about "spreading the load."

The 15-month length of service was the sacrificial lamb (service is to be increased to 18 months) which is meant to head off for Chancellor Helmut Kohl demands from Nato over the next few years about areas of foreign policy.

It was under this somewhat constructed constellation that Willy Brandt and others also suffered.

When Germany entered the United Nations, it could have become a force for peace as smaller nations, like Austria, Norway and Sweden, did.

Last year, some SPD politicians submitted a proposal intended to get things moving away from this situation of rigidity.

They called for a change in Basic Law (the Bonn Constitution) with the aim of expressly allowing German troops to operate under the aegis of the United Nations in cases when their use outside the North Atlantic Treaty area under the Nato flag was not allowed.

Hasty burial

This idea was buried far too quickly, not least by the majority at the SPD annual conference. It certainly contained a few problems because constitutions are not any good at deciding on topical political disputes.

Nevertheless, the SPD discussion also made it possible for the governing coalition in Bonn to push the ticklish issue back on to the back burner.

That this delaying tactic has only limited effect is something that Vogel noticed in New York. The Federal Republic cannot avoid developing a certain reputation at the United Nations.

Germany is so economically powerful and, at the same time, so politically dependent that it just cannot leave the responsibility for world peace to others.

Jörg Bischoff

(Stuttgarter Zeitung, 8 April 1989)

the Bundeswehr, Scholz should give his generals and their staffs a free hand to make adjustments to accommodate the declining levels of resources — so they can cut the suit according to the cloth.

This applies especially to a reduction in the number of army brigades. Specialists have long been saying that this must be a consequence of the diminishing resources if other units are to be maintained and if training is to be held at the required level.

Above all, Scholz should ensure that those means that are available are used as efficiently as possible. That means that procurement planning, including weapons, should be the responsibility of one man: the Generalinspekteur, the chief of the armed forces staff.

He should see the Bundeswehr's tasks in their entirety, set priorities and be responsible only to the minister for how much money is handed out and for what. The days when the cash was divided up among the army, the Luftwaffe and the navy according to a firm formula and the armaments plans of each service were its own responsibility have to be consigned to the past.

So that the Generalinspekteur can carry the complete responsibility for armaments plans, he needs to be given adequate powers. He must maintain a good relationship with the chiefs of staff but must not be dependent on them. He should also be allowed to make decisions on his own. That means he must be the chief.

Karl Feldmeyer
(Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung für Deutschland, 3 April 1989)



Tenacity for the task ... now CDU chief Heinz Daum... (Photo: Svenja)

Manpower and cash crises are threatening the Bundeswehr

It is a time of peace, but the Bundeswehr is under threat. The number of its problems is growing. Some of them threaten its very basis.

Continued on page 5

There is a growing number of conscientious objectors; and in this day and age where considerations of individual advantage are more important than social obligation, the alternative civilian service does offer many of conscientious objectors.

Individuals have a genuine choice between the two types of service (civilian alternative is 18 months compared with 15) and social recognition of the civilian form is increasing.

These days, it is not the civilian objectors but soldiers — for example pilots — who find they rate lowly in public esteem.

The effect of two factors cannot be overestimated: the changing events in the Soviet Union and a decline in the feeling of being threatened by the Russians.

These is important, because it was out of this feeling of being threatened that gave the Bundeswehr its legitimization.

Attempts by the Bundeswehr to justify itself as a taken-for-granted organic part of society which needs no external threat in order to justify itself has so far had no recognisable success.

That sort of idea is for many people merely a concept of the state as a functional entity. State and army are not understood as ends in themselves or even as integral parts of that entity. They are institutions to be used, not bearers of prestige. Therein lies an important dif-

ference between this country and her neighbouring states and allies.

The number of conscientious objectors is likely to reach 100,000 a year. In this way, the Bundeswehr is losing more soldiers than it will gain by the increase in length of service from 15 to 18 months — that is, 60,000 a year. If this large proportion of young men did not opt for the civilian alternative, then their contemporaries would not, as from 1 June, have to serve three months longer in the Bundeswehr.

This, in turn, touches on other difficulties: a shortage of people and of money. Because of the decreasing birthrate, there are not enough men of conscription age. There will be a shortage of volunteers as well.

Volunteers are mostly regimental officers, many non-commissioned, including a large number of corporals. In the middle of the 1990s, estimates of the manpower shortage vary between 10,000 and 15,000. This shortage will make itself painfully obvious in the 90s because it will mainly affect the future training, mobilisation and reserve forces.

Reservists and those of call-up age come as a rule from the world of commerce where effectiveness is the prime necessity. Against this recruits tend to measure their service in the Bundes-

wehr which, in turn, can only do the right thing by these people when it has at its command sufficient qualified officers and NCOs. If there aren't enough, the result is ineffectiveness.

This has always been a source of vexation up until now. If it continues, the readiness of people to accept the Bundeswehr will decline even more. That's why the Bundeswehr has to set itself limits. Uncomfortable decisions are unavoidable, given the financial handicaps.

The Bundeswehr has suffered from financial shortages ever since 1974

when the defence budget began its decline from 25 per cent of the total budget to the present 18 per cent. Today, the equipment is likely to be older than the soldier who uses it. Its value as a weapon is equivalent.

All this forces the Defence Minister to negotiate. As a politician, the minister, Rupert Scholz, has the job of letting the Cabinet know the situation. But the prevailing wish in the Cabinet is to leave everything like it is and to act as if the obligations towards the alliance were fulfilled. As the commander-in-chief of

■ THE HEALTH SYSTEM

Growth of private insurance schemes produces some social imbalances

The German health system is funded by health companies. Most people are covered by statutory, semi-autonomous companies. There are also private companies offering a more sophisticated range of benefits. More people are joining private schemes. Companies, especially big companies are finding

What is a businessman doing who saves several millions when the competition gets tough? Is he acting against the best interests of all? Hardly.

He is doing what is expected of him. He takes some kind of action, he makes his products more attractive on the marketplace and saves jobs.

In addition he gives his employees DM50 to DM100 more per month. Is that acting without solidarity? Seen in that light, no.

What is a businessman doing, however, who acts so that other companies in the area, and their employees, have to pay considerably more for health insurance? In the view of the other firms it is acting against the best interests of all.

Firms have been hearing of such cases, firms which want to set up their own company health insurance schemes. These include well-known companies such as Audi, BMW and the Deutsche Bank.

All workers at all levels pay for this and no-one can say anything against that in a free market economy.

The companies have to keep costs down. Fringe benefits have become more and more costly. Consultants have found a new area for their activities: how much money can be saved with a company operating its own health insurance fund?

The principle is relatively simple. If the company pays high salaries contributions to its own health scheme can be

that it is cheaper running their own scheme and employees are happy to pay less than they otherwise would. But this draws off many well-paid workers from the state-backed schemes, which are then forced to increase their contributions. The problem is outlined by Thomas Linke for *Die Welt*.

Employee is nowhere else so wide as in health insurance.

The chemicals industry has acknowledged standard payments in collective wage agreements. Workers and salaried employees pay into different funds for retirement pensions, but the amounts paid in are the same.

Only in health insurance are workers the equals of society.

In this there is an economic anachronism. In economically-weak regions with low wages health insurance is the dearest.

Contributions to the Allgemeine Ortskrankenkasse (AOK), for instance, are much lower in the economically hard-hit north and west than they are in the prosperous south.

So far Labour Minister Norbert Blüm has not been able to tackle these problems. The Bonn coalition is wary of arousing the anger bound to occur when there is any tampering with this.

But the government is now paying for its delays, for with the plans to set up company health insurance schemes the

The lack of nurses, male and female, has become a nightmare in the Federal Republic's hospitals.

Senior physicians are announcing that they might have to close their clinics because of the lack of nursing sisters and orderlies. It is being said that patients can no longer be properly cared for.

The nurses' professional body sees the situation grimly. The salaried employees trade union estimates that there is a lack of 6,000 nurses. This is an enormous deficiency in the view of the 225,000 nurses and male orderlies working in hospitals.

These figures do not include the more than 25,000 children's nurses and orderlies and the 35,000 semi-trained nurses, male and female. Hospitals employ more than 800,000 in all.

The Hospitals Association does not agree with estimates but the Association does regard the situation in the wards with concern.

Even the state health insurance schemes, where more and better paid contributors make a significant difference to high costs, do not deny the seriousness of the situation.

Hans-Georg Kraushaar of the local health insurance office in Frankfurt said that the health insurance schemes were not insensitive to the problems of nurses and orderlies.

He was speaking in Bad Nauheim before 300 representatives from hospitals in Hesse at a congress on the outlook for nursing in the 1990s.

The results of a survey conducted by the nurses professional association confirmed descriptions which have been made of working conditions in hospital wards.

Christel Bienstein, lecturer at the association's training centre in Essen, described a surgical ward with patients who had recently undergone operations

The gap between worker and salaried

earning relatively good salaries in the private, cheaper, insurance schemes.

Workers earning less stay with AOK, along with the "bad risks", as the unemployed and disabled.

The number of salaried employees contributing to local insurance schemes such as AOK has dropped ten per cent. Banning company health insurance schemes would not change that.

In specific cases problems are suddenly almost 30,000 AOK contributors pull out and join a new company health insurance scheme, as with Ingolstadt.

Contributions to the AOK a spot must inevitably be increased despite the fact that within the framework of health service reforms contribute should go down.

This obviously disturbs politics involved in social welfare policies in the Bonn coalition. It is still questionable just how far contributions will go down in Blüm's health service reform.

This must be made clear fairly to show to people, some of whom are indignant, the sense of the measures.

The elections in West Berlin in Hesse did not turn out so badly for coalition because of the reforms.

On the one hand there was an understanding for increased contributions but a ban on company insurance schemes would be like replacing evil with another. It would give a reform of the health insurance schemes, geared to competition.

Thomas Linke
(*Die Welt*, Bonn, 4 April)

that by banning company health insurance the AOK would be helped in any way.

For many years both kinds of health insurance scheme have maintained a stable membership. The local health insurance schemes, such as AOK, have about six million contributors, the company health schemes about four million.

Since 1970, however, private insurance schemes for salaried workers have increased their number of contributing members from seven to 12 million.

This reflects the trend in a service industries society. Salaried employees in the Federal Republic have been in the majority for a long time. These people,

where, statistically speaking, one nurse had to look after 15.11 patients.

Another survey showed that on one ward where 90 intra-muscular injections were to be given, 85 were done wrongly. Because of the hectic pace at the ward, hygiene was neglected.

There are a number of reasons why this deficiency is getting greater. An important factor is certainly the barely adequate number of personnel on the wards. The regulations laying down the ratio of patients to nursing staff of 1969 count here.

The changes on the wards, which dramatically advances in medical technology

Frankfurter Allgemeine

have brought about, have not been taken into account so far.

More and more hospital personnel are getting out because of the strains, often too high, placed on them.

This means the work is harder for those who remain in the hospitals. They then get out, making matters worse.

It is becoming more and more difficult for hospitals to keep trained personnel, even if they are paid better salaries.

The gross salary for a member of the nursing staff is about DM2,400 per month. A nursing sister earns about DM3,500, including extra payments for special service.

Some sisters who have to spend three years getting qualified, and who are on duty in shifts, through the night and at

the weekend, earn less than an untrained saleswoman.

Semi-trained ward helpers, male and female, who take a year's course, paid correspondingly less.

A spokesman for the labour office reported on cases in which nursing staff moved out to work in the women's department of a clothes shop.

Apart from earning more they are more sociable working hours and stress.

The nursing profession can be characterised by the slogan: "Pleasant stress, low pay."

The problem cannot be solved at just more money and more persons. Anyone who takes up nursing does it just for the money. There is no desire to serve people, to be ready to respond for the sick.

An appropriate salary is important, of course, but it is not everything for those in the nursing profession.

If the crisis in nursing is to be solved far-reaching changes are vital.

Over the past 120 years health care has been considerably developed for everyone. Now ten per cent of the gross national product, or DM250bn, is devoted to health care. Health care is a growing sector.

Higher demands, medical and technical, are now made of nurses and orderlies. When looking after patients in intensive care they are responsible for equipment, which an engineer personally supervises in industry.

The nursing profession has not kept up with this development.

There are no career opportunities

Continued on page 11

Daimler-Benz's policy under chief executive Edzard Reuter is to expand and diversify away from motor vehicles. Its latest target is Messerschmitt-Bölkow-Blohm, a large Bavarian aerospace company. The acquisition would bring Daimler-Benz's annual sales to about 80 billion marks, nearly 4 per cent of the country's gross national product. The cartel authorities say the planned merger contravenes competition legislation. But it does not have the last say on the matter.

That lies with the Economics Minister, Helmut Haussmann (FDP). Haussmann has been at the ministry only since December and the situation he inherited puts him in a difficult position. Klaus-Peter Schmid takes up the story for the Hamburg weekly, *Die Zeit*.

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Thomas Linke
(*Die Welt*, Bonn, 4 April)

■ MONOPOLIES

Minister in hot seat over Daimler-Benz takeover bid

Herr Haussmann wriggles a bit and protests that "the impression has been spread, not least because of statements by both interested parties, that the minister's permission has already been given." But the fact is that no one, including Haussmann himself, knows how can this blow against free competition, can now be prevented.

For Haussmann it is almost a case of the horse having bolted before he took office. The stable door was opened by his predecessor, Martin Bangemann, who went unmourned to Brussels to become a European Commissioner.

At one stage, Haussmann had no doubt that the Economics Ministry was the job he wanted. A few months before he took office, he said: "It's great when a man gets such a chance at the age of 45."

Since coming to office, he has tackled many things that Bangemann had neglected. Files are once again being opened in the top echelons and staff who were frustrated by the solo style of Bangemann are once again being consulted.

Haussmann never forgets to praise his "very loyal" people and to give the assurance that "the house is behind me." There are intended displays of harmony, such as when he made his first informal appearance before the Bonn Press Club. There were three secretaries of state with him. And before he departed for the Easter break, he handed out praise for all the extra work which had been done. A seasoned campaigner like Otto Schlecht, who has been a secretary of state since 1973, could allow himself an empathetic grin.

The teamwork at this highest level is working so well that Haussmann has avoided making any serious gaffes during these first months in office. Bangemann, by contrast, seemed intent on putting his foot in it as soon as he took over the ministry in 1984. And no one held him back. Haussmann prefers to put his trust in his staff's specialist knowledge.

He moved with care into uncharted waters. There was the European conference aimed at relieving many fears of middle-class people about the European internal market; there was pressure over the ticklish issue of deciding what to do about coal-mining. Surprisingly was his renunciation of the FDP idea of doing away entirely with the trading tax (payable by some companies) and increasing value-added tax.

Haussmann claims responsibility for pushing proposed foreign-trade legislation through the Cabinet, but self-praise is premature because it still has to go



An option he could do without...
Helmut Haussmann.
(Photo: Weier)

through Parliament. And dropping a bad tax plan does not automatically ensure that something better will follow. However, one experienced observer in the Chancellor's Office thinks Haussmann will have no problems here.

So there is not too much ground for concern if it were not for, in Haussmann's words, "a certain inherited load." The case of the Daimler-Benz-MBB merger is of especial significance because it is in the end, in the minister's arena.

The Economics Ministry understands itself as Karl Schiller (a Social Democrat who held both Economics and Finance portfolios during the 1960s and beginning of the 1970s) described it, as "a ministry for convincing" and a defender of the economic order. The central instrument for this task is the *Gesetz gegen Wettbewerbsbeschränkungen*, law against restricting competition which many consider as a sort of "a constitution governing the market economy."

This law, known as GWB, was the one the cartel authorities decided applied in the case of Daimler-Benz and MBB. They say such a merger would lead to Daimler-Benz having such a dominant position in the market that it would contravene the law.

But GWB provides for the Economics Minister to set aside a cartel authority ruling. The minister, however, must weigh up the disadvantages of the merger against the "overall economic advantages" or show that it is "justified because it is overwhelmingly in the public interest."

It is an impossible task for Haussmann. He says he wants to fix up "the bungle", (his words) but not how. When the observation is made that the matter has already long been decided and that he cannot change anything, he answers: "People should wait and see."

The first important thing was to avoid irregularities. He intended to adhere

Continued on page 8

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A (restricted) cartel authority

If the federal cartel authority does not accept the planned merger between Daimler-Benz and MBB on competition grounds, the two firms are allowed to appeal to the Economics Minister within a month.

This is provided for in the law governing competition, *Gesetz gegen Wettbewerbsbeschränkungen* (law against restricting competition).

Article 24 says the minister, who

is currently a Free Democrat, Helmut Haussmann, can give the green light if, on balance, the reduction of competition brings overall economic advantages.

The minister must make a decision inside four months and he must obtain an assessment from the cartel authority, which is an independent body. But he doesn't have to accept what it recommends.

Since the introduction of monopolies controls in 1973, 11 cases have been referred to the minister. Four have been approved, some with conditions attached.

(AP)

(Hamburger Abendblatt, 30 March 1989)

HANOVER FAIR

The importance of knowledge, not products

STUTTGARTER NACHRICHTEN

The Hanover Fair showed the fascination that technology exerts. The city was bursting at the seams with visitors.

Some had to travel each day from Hamburg, Bremen or other places because accommodation was impossible to find. Hotels were full. Accommodation prices went through the roof. Some Hanover people even went on holiday to cash in on the boom by letting their homes.

Ships were moored on the river and used as hotels. The Bundesbahn stationed sleeping wagons at the fair's own railway station.

Visitors did not come just to admire the equipment. They were interested in solutions to technical problems and in ideas.

Austria's Chancellor Franz Vranitzky emphasised this when he said: "The well-being of the nation is not based on goods, owned by the people, but in its technical knowledge, which produces these goods."

This quotation comes from Luigi Pasinetti, the famous Italo-American economist.

Know-how was the most important aspect of Germany's swift reconstruction after the Second World War, and it created the fundamentals for constant growth and for the good reputation of our mechanical engineering industry.

There were plenty of ideas, but which were important and in the end could be applied?

This is not decided by a committee of experts, nor by an economic council, but by the marketplace.

Unimpeded competition decides who is the "winner" and throws away other approaches as unusable.

It is vital for every producer to keep up with the changing requirements of customers.

But where there are victors there are also losers and failed pessimists, who fear for their property.

This "psychology of the marketplace" is

Continued from page 7

"embarrassingly closely" to monopolies procedures. So far, there have been four mergers granted with conditions. On top of that, one application was given part permission. But none of these was in the same league as Daimler-Benz and MBB.

Haussmann's moment of truth is this month when the cartel authority finally issues its ruling against. Then this self-assured Liberal must show that everything that is good for Daimler is not necessarily also good for the German economy; that Herr Reuter and Herr Alfred Herrhausen (who, as "spokesman" or chairman of Deutsche Bank, Daimler's biggest shareholder, has a place on the Daimler-Benz board) are not going to be allowed to decide what sort of economic politics Germany should have; and above all to show that everything was not nicely arranged down to the last detail in the hobnobbing.

demonstrated at its best in the reactions to the magic words, "Europe 1992."

While for months so many major companies have painted in glowing colours the opportunities held out by a single European market, a more sober assessment has prevailed in some quarters, apprehension even.

For the first time Helmut Haussmann made the opening speech at the Economics Minister. He emphasised that there would be no-one "a single European market à la carte."

He said that Germany could not pick out those points from the single European market programme, which suited the country well, and wall itself in from the remaining factors.

There had to be a readiness to change and this must begin in people's heads.

This is where the problem lies. Haussmann was applauded by his audience of industrialists when he spoke of a change-over to "a flexible society on the offensive," when he said that he intended to reduce corporation tax.

Many workers regard the "greyhound theory" expounded by FDP politicians with scepticism — a theory that states that, in the single European market, the quick will put pressure on the slow, the agile on the inflexible.

They worry about their jobs. Not every one of them is swift, not everyone can keep up the pace.

Many will fall by the wayside. But even a single European market must cushion workers from hardship if the concept is to be supported by all sectors of society, including the trades unions.

The advantages of the single European market outweigh everything else. Most of the exhibitors at Hanover were convinced of this.

There will be no impediments to manufacturers selling their products in neighbouring countries. They may have been cleared for many cooperation agreements.

Politicians and economists who voiced their views at Hanover clearly denied that a single European market would be "Fortress Europe."

They emphasised that the single market would not be shut off from the outside. This credo was expressed time and time again.

Nevertheless the worries of the non-EU states are not overcome so lightly.

The fears the Americans and the Japanese have of the fortress have not been dispelled.

In Switzerland as well the development is being followed with close attention, and Chancellor Vranitzky would rather lead Austria into the European Community today than tomorrow.

Eckehart Rötter
(Stuttgarter Nachrichten, 6 April 1989)

ing last year between Bonn and Stuttgart (Daimler-Benz headquarters).

How Haussmann will achieve this is his secret. Perhaps he will approve the Deal of the Century but impose some conditions in the area of military production — and that would be that.

He says there is no chance of his not being the minister when the decision is taken. Before he became minister, he said he wasn't preparing himself for a job to last until 1990, but was looking way beyond that.

Today he observes, without false modesty, that "I enjoy esteem in the Cabinet." Why should he worry about his position merely because the Chancellor is restructuring his government? And in any case, any successor to Haussmann would still have to deal with the Daimler case and, presumably, with the same dreaded Minsterialblüten.

Klaus-Peter Schmid
(Die Zeit, Hamburg, 7 April 1989)

Because of backlogs in demand, fur-

Qualified people needed to keep one jump ahead

Kieler Nachrichten

This is not just an exhibition which deals with products. It has quickly become an event in which people play a central role.

Most of the 6,000 exhibitors from all over the world will return home with bulging orderbooks. The question is whether the orders will involve all their workers back home.

The German economy is booming almost as it did in the early days of the nation, so selling is not a major problem.

What is lacking is qualified people who can improve almost perfect products and keep their companies ahead in technical developments.

Managers are doing well in Hanover. The talk around the meeting places is that the market is at its best.

Almost the whole of West German industry has glowing balance sheets for 1988.

Instead, there are the prospects of a single European market which is due to be in place by the end of 1992. This should bring an upswing in investment.

This topic was discussed during a colloquium held by the Protestant Academy in Tutzing.

It sometimes seems as if the death toll is regarded as the inevitable price to be paid for speedy, convenient and individual mobility.

Even if there are thousands of more or less serious road accidents every day, this does not represent "normality" of a society with a clear trend towards a second car, with an excellent road network, and with increasingly perfected vehicles.

In purely statistical terms each motorised road-user can expect to be involved in a crash after 20,000 journeys — whether on the way to work or to holidays. The probability of losing one's life in such an accident is lower.

Most people ignore this risk; the possibility of personal involvement in an accident becomes an abstract statistical possibility.

This explains why — an aspect criticised during the conference in Tutzing — road safety is treated as a subject of secondary importance.

Another reason is the fact that, since reaching its peak in 1970, there has been a steady decline in the number of deaths on the road.

At the beginning of the conference Professor Karl-Heinz Lenz from the Federal Traffic Institute described tech-

TRANSPORT

Human error 'biggest cause' of road accidents

Nürzberger

niture is at present selling faster cars, which have for a long time been the sunny side of the street.

Tourism has suddenly become calmed; people are saying that the holiday was not as great as it could be.

Expensive restaurants, when they have to offer is what clients are doing well.

The central office of the German Trade Association franked shortly after Christmas in view of growth that customers, according to tailors, would like to buy more, but cause they have almost everything every year on German autobahns.

And Hans-Günter Hilde, the head of the Traffic Studies department of the Hilltop Police Academy (Münster) said: "If over 8,000 people died in this country every year in plane crashes, flying would be stopped."

He was referring to the 8,213 deaths on all German roads in 1987.

Yet nobody seems to be unduly concerned about "death on the roads" on such a huge scale.

He pointed out that "over 8,000 deaths on the roads each year cannot be attributed to reckless drivers only."

Almost all accidents are caused by "human error".

If someone drives too fast, moves up too close to the car ahead or drives in a drunken state (these are the three main reasons for accidents) even the most sophisticated technology can only limit the consequences.

Experts also agree that this is a long and arduous process.

According to Hans-Günter Hilde the aggressive motorist is in accord with the existing system of norms.

He emphasised that conduct on the roads cannot be "better than conduct in our society."

Heribert Fuehr
(Nürzberger Nachrichten, 1 April 1989)

committing even serious offences do not improve conduct on the roads.

The decisive question is why this conduct is not based on solidarity in the first place.

The experts in Tutzing by and large agreed that the high degree of tolerance shown by German society towards the consumption of alcohol is a major explanatory factor.

Many speakers complained about the discrepancy between the values expected of the working environment and those expected of motorists.

A good worker is expected to use his elbows to make a career, be efficient and highly competitive. Behind the wheel, however, such "virtues" lead to an overestimation of abilities, reckless conduct and an inadequate sense of responsibility.

Furthermore, the ego-boost which is often missing in the rigid hierarchy in the working environment can be regained with the help of the anonymity of a fast car.

Road safety experts claim that this competitive way of thinking must be replaced by partnership, pushiness and pigheadedness replaced by driving abilities.

As the mayor of Erlangen, Dietmar Hahlweg, put it, people must "rediscover the social virtue of driving slowly" and force the motor industry to focus on this aspect in its advertising instead of speed, sportiness and engine power.

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Heribert Fuehr
(Nürzberger Nachrichten, 1 April 1989)

What lorries carry
Long-distance freight on German roads in billion-ton kilometres

1969 1979 1989 (estimate)

Domestic vehicles 34.8
Foreign vehicles 5.1
Total 39.9

20.9
78.7
106.8

57.8
33.1

75.7

Rising demand: it's lorries by the truckful

Lorry sales in Europe are at record levels. No one can say exactly why, but that isn't worrying the manufacturers.

Sales have been increasing over the past few years, but the 1988 figure — 188,000 new vehicles of over 11.6 tons laden weight — was an astounding nine per cent up on the record year of 1979.

Smaller lorries are also selling well. In Germany alone the production of commercial vehicles increased 12 per cent in 1988 to 120,249 units (laden weight of over 6 tons).

The highest rate of increase (a good 15 per cent) was in the very heavy vehicles category (over 16 tons).

No-one in the motor industry can really explain the surprising boom. Despite the full order books there is still a mood of caution.

The motor industry is well aware of the sudden ups and downs in this industry and recall the last serious setback in the mid-1980s.

The experts at Daimler, MAN or Iveco/Magirus feel that the forthcoming liberalisation of the European internal market could be one reason for the boom.

It is hoped that the open frontiers will lead to an increase of a good 40 per cent in freight volume by the year 2000.

The manufacturers of commercial vehicles and hauliers want to get a reasonable slice of this cake.

In many European Community countries the vehicle fleets of the haulage contractors are obsolete.

Modern business strategies also contribute to the lorry sales boom. In line with the motto "Just in time" the entire motor industry today demands the reliable and punctual delivery of preliminary product components, more or less directly to the production lines.

This cuts high storage costs and reduces the expensive tying-up of capital.

High-cost warehousing is transferred to the roads, which leads to greater environmental problems.

The discussions on noise, lorry transportation with dangerous loads and vehicle exhaust problems have given lorries a bad image. They are regarded as air polluters.

The soot emissions ruin the image promoted by motor manufacturers that lorries are the most economical and the most flexible means of transportation.

Horst Biallo

(Frankfurter Neue Presse, 4 April 1989)

220,000 suppliers of 75,000 products 'made in Germany'



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For 10 years, controversy raged about the renovation of Saarbrücken Castle. Just as the plans to renovate Heidelberg Castle at the turn of the century were an occasion to re-think the basics of the new discipline of preservation of historical monuments, so the reconstruction of Saarbrücken Castle raised all the problems of our era with its concern with, and respect for, the institutions of the past.

The localised nature of this debate was probably due to the fact that Saarbrücken lies in a remote part of Germany near the border with France in the south-west.

But it did not lack vehemence. Citizens' initiatives were formed for and against the alternatives.

Disputes about the castle coloured local elections. Divisions broke out in one political party, the FDP, on the issue. People well-known in historical monument restoration circles feuded with one another.

It would not have taken much to rise a building again like of which none had seen for 200 years.

Saarbrücken Castle, a creation of the baroque architect Friedrich Joachim

Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung

Stengel, was burnt down during the French Revolution not 50 years after it had been completed.

Goethe saw the residence of Prince William Henry of Nassau in all its glory, describing it as a bright point in a silvan, rocky landscape, small "but decorated by the last princes."

This description might leave its mark, "a very delicate feeling of happiness," on the people of the Saar today, as it did on the poet Ludwig Harig, even if it is full of irony.

What the people recently celebrated with choirs, fireworks, masquerades, tricks and a reading from their poet Harig, is not the replica of this feudal building from the distant past.

It is well worth visiting the renovated building. It has not been put together from inadequate models, a more-or-less similar recapitulation, as is usual these days.

Buildings have been reconstructed, translocated, gutted from Hildesheim to the Marktplatz in Weimar, from Frankfurt's Römerberg to the Nicolai District in East Berlin, and their value in relation to the past sacrificed to aesthetic appearance.

Saarbrücken's determined, artistic approach to the past is significant.

HISTORIC MONUMENTS

A castle towers far above the dissent way below

The refusal to concentrate on a single phase of history is an acknowledgement of all the castle's phases; only the changes made during the Nazi period are ignored in the reconstruction of Saarbrücken Castle.

The citizens of Saarbrücken acquired the castle ruins after the decline of its baroque magnificence. A masterbuilder by the name of Adam Knipper erected an accommodation wing, destroying some of the original to some extent and knocking out a mezzanine floor. The central section was demolished.

After the Franco-German War the Saar industrial magnate Baron von Stumm had a guest house in the renaissance style built in this place. In the Nazi period it was again done up in the baroque style.

Most of the building was burnt out in 1944 and the renovation restored the castle to the condition it was in pre-war.

Then the south wing had to be closed because of the danger of its collapse. Fundamental renovation was long overdue. An ill-treated conglomerate had developed by chance from the magnificent baroque castle with its opulent terrace gardens. But what is chance? History is chance.

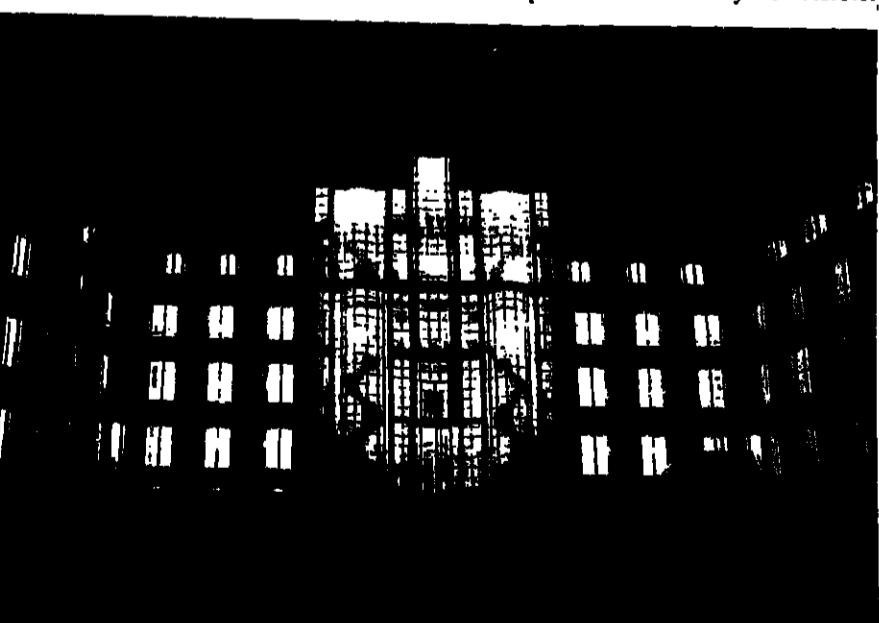
Three courses of action were possible: restoring the castle to the state it had grown into by accident, renovation more or less in Stengel's style, or taking modern course, designing afresh the central pavilion and renovating the remaining structure made up of the three wings?

This third variation grew from a suggestion made almost by accident in a 1977 competition, made by the Cologne architect Gottfried Böhm, who now has an international reputation.

This proposal was accepted in Saarbrücken. Reasonable people on the spot, such as the then civic building director Johann Peter Lüth, had a hand in this. Lüth is now responsible for the preservation of historical buildings in the Saar.

The proposal which Böhm developed with his architect colleagues Nikolaus Rosiny from Cologne, Klaus Krüger and Lutz Rieger from Saarbrücken, did not turn back the clock, did not stop it at the year 1793.

The process of history is visible,



Light touch to a weighty dispute. The renovated Saarbrücken Castle by night. (Photo: Werner E. Wunderlich)

Foundations from the period of the Hohenstaufen emperors and the renaissance came to light.

The new arrangement of the architectural masses recalled Stengel's creation, which had pushed aside without much ado the remains of these previous constructions, and in the wings there were more original sections of the building than the experts had expected to find before work began.

The side wings still bore witness to Muster Knipper's restoration in the Spartan time under Napoleon. The former villa of Baron von Stumm is concealed in Böhm's new central projection like a doll within a doll.

It is visible from the outside as a base on the garden side on which the new glass lantern rises.

Here, in Böhm's central pavilion, the present speaks clearly. The pell-mell of the section inserted goes back to the phases of the 19th century when a gap yawned between the Castle square and the Castle garden.

More centuries have been preserved in the building as it is presented now.

This renovation has not come off without contradictions and friction. The new encroachments exposed the old, they caused damage as well to the body of the building, which can be seen.

On the other hand, doesn't Stengel's gray-white paintwork, which now also covers the 19th century part of the building, mercifully cover the remaining wings?

Affinities with the baroque are surprisingly quite natural for the incisive Böhm. Symmetry, lancet arches and windows and solemnity are not taboo for him.

He has spread out an interplay of straight and spiral stairways, balconies, pedestals and bridges in the foyer of the central pavilion. He has covered the banqueting hall under the cupola with a painting, sprayed with varnish, which with relish deceives the eye. Böhm, who is 68, spent days on scaffolding.

Surprisingly the solemnity of the interior does not extend to the exterior. Böhm worked hard on this and produced one new version after another over the ten years the castle was being renovated.

Instead of the extensive facades, which was decided on for a while during the planning stage, the decision went to a slim, dual-pillared, disciplined frontage.

This gives a serious, narrow-shouldered effect, withdrawn, painted in dark metal-gray and roofed with lead and slate.

The facade system, leading up to the mansards, brings to mind scaffolding, suggesting something which is temporary....

It speaks for the sincerity of this building, that even in its contemporary setting it still shows that it was built for another age, now gone forever.

Böhm would not be the experienced practical man he is if he had not had his eye on the practicalities where this was needed.

The wings of the DM42.7 million building are now reached via the bridges and the staircases in the central pavilion. The civic association, the legal suc-

cessor of the Saarbrücken administrative district, has its office here.

The regional museum is housed in basement of the wing, the conference hall, the small theatre and the banqueting hall are to be found in the central part of the building.

The citizens have now really taken possession of the castle: the pyramids of the Revolution only tried to destroy it.

In the Old Town in Saarbrücken, the long-neglected St Johann district would now be appropriate to use a new thrust as a shot in the arm for renovation.

The square and the streets lead down to Ludwigskirche, a building Stengel which has been preserved and widened and made no sense.

Still more serious is the strain cast by the motorway between Schlossfels and Saar. An overpass is being constructed and was already a theme in the planning competition of 1977.

In countries far away from the somewhat Nietzsche called "Altgier," a gift for the past, will gain ground, a desire to create the appearance of that which has been lost.

It is good to know that another way of dealing with history is possible!

Wolfgang Pehn
(Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung für Deutschland, 11 April)

Many opinions plus the pigeon factor

Continued from page 6
management techniques are not applied. Hospital personnel will eventually have to bear responsibilities.

If a nursing sister wants to become head of a ward, she is expected to take courses. She has to give up her job generally to be able to take part in the seminars which can last up to three years.

If she does not get support from the labour office or her employer, she has to pay the course fees herself and look after herself while she is studying.

The public services union, OTV, calculates that the total cost for training would be DM 16,000.

Several hospitals have drawn their own conclusions from this. According to strict management principles the city hospital in Kassel, for instance, has made a survey of the actual situation in wards.

It was discovered that there were failings in the way the work was organised. These were removed.

The city hospital has not only reorganised the work but personnel have been drawn closer into the work method as a whole, so that know-how does not seep away in some departments.

The Kassel concept also includes further education during working hours for personnel — paid by the hospital in all cases.

The Dr Horst Schmidt Clinic in Wiesbaden has also introduced new management methods, coupled to efforts to improve staff qualifications. According to the director of nursing, Marie-Luise Müller, this has been successful.

The number of qualified nursing sisters and orderlies is to be increased and the semi-trained nursing staff are to be given more training. This further training will be paid for by the clinic.

Two pensioners, who had met in the castle garden to gossip, feared that they would not remain so beautiful for long. They watched the "furious pigeons" which, in their opinion, would soon see that the new splendour was messed up.

Claus Peter Müller
(Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung für Deutschland, 10 April 1989)

VIDEO ART

Soviet exotica between the hustle and the bustle

It all began when people got the wind up about Big Brother telly, pricked him with needles, unmasked him as a dangerous monster or exposed him as someone to laugh at.

Wolf Vorstell, the master of the happening, tied up done-to-death television sets with barbed-wire and asked them to be eternally quiet.

This show, the world's largest, is looked upon by the Americans in their land of unlimited opportunities with some envy. Furthermore it is sponsored by a leisure electronics organisation, Sony Deutschland, which shows how this once so hated ugly duckling has blossomed out.

He placed another TV set heartlessly with its face to the floor, because it was called Rembrandt.

Monitors and cassette players are no longer covered in cement, chopped up and defiled. Sony Deutschland would never have chipped in with the largest financial contribution of two million deutschmarks, if these creative artists had not made a lustful, exultant peace with their previous arch-enemy.

Since the last document exhibition in Kassel with its electronic sensations with video electronics a breakthrough has been made: there is an intense love-affair going on between the former adversaries.

There is a fun-fair atmosphere in the darkened rooms of the Kunstverein, more so in the Dumont Kunsthalle, whose rooms are better suited to the artists' purposes.

This is an atmosphere of popular enthusiasm which the non-electronic avant-garde can only dream about in their artists' hide-out.

Round every snow-white corner there is a surprise, because new effects are continuously worn out of the goggle-box with the aid of cameras, mirrors, feedback and software, all well worked-out, which is magical for the viewer fed on a diet of First and Second Television Channel fare.

A swimmer doing the crawl goes along a distance fitted out with 25 monitors.

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Despite the increase in the number of patients and the continued reduction in the time patients spend in hospital, fluctuations among the personnel and losses through sickness of time which counts towards pension although no payments are made, are surprisingly limited.

Claus Peter Müller
(Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung für Deutschland, 8 April 1989)



Part of a phoenix act. Nam June Paik's *Beuys/Voice*, 1987.

tors — here everyone would like to know how the Studio Azzurro trick functions.

On film Servans from Holland shows pursed lips like a whistling kettle, and a genuine feather, placed in front of a screen, really moves because an unseen pneumatic, synchronised gadget is working.

But there is no lack of intellectual content to these works of art, handled with rousing fun. The infringements television has made into our lives are pinpointed, or more commonly, the typical media change of appearance and reality.

Dan Graham's playful rooms produce even deeper ideas, in which the observer sees the past being acted out so surmounting the limits of time. Reflections and time-retarded live-cameras make this time-machine artwork possible.

Apart from the discovery of the creativity of the medium these video artists have been helped to their astonishing popularity by two other approaches.

First, they have almost given up pure video filming, which was shown in the gloomiest caves and called for an excess of patience from the public. Via live cameras, the previously passive viewer increasingly takes part in an experimental event.

With Jeffrey Shaw the viewer can control the origins and changes of a large-scale digital picture with a joy-stick. Second, these video artists have learned that their works are only of interest as items for a collection if they have a second conventional raison d'être as pieces of sculpture.

Friederike Pezold's video pictures, glowing with femininity and self-confidence, are integrated into statues of archaic figures of motherhood.

Barbara Steinman's works of grief for the nameless victims of the holocaust have the form of a post-modern memorial.

RHEINISCHER MERKUR

the mouths of these leaders pouring out their speeches in sound and picture.

No limits were set for the extravagance of the works. It is only possible to get out of Bucky Schwartz's labyrinth if one literally follows the inalienable television vision as a means of orientation.

Elsewhere televisions on building constructions conjure up the endangered cycle of nature with provocative images.

In Marcel Odenbach's work tramping soldiers' boots shatter cosily porcelain.

Nam June Paik demonstrates the pure power of the medium with a gigantic pyramid of monitor screens.

The video boom has advanced into the Gothic precinct's of St Peter's Church. Below the font by Rubens, Ulrike Rosenbach's poetic drowned "Orpheus" is revived by a blood-transfusion.

A Christ on the cross springs into the era of the media on four screens.

The media hustle and bustle which has broken out over video art is too much for Klaus vom Bruch. On a screen left to itself he displays pictures which are probably still cliché and exotic — that is of a Soviet television programme picked up by a satellite dish.

Wolf Schön

Tony Oursler's *Constellation: Intermission*, 1988.
(Photos: Catalogue)

(Photo: Catalogue)

(Photo: Catalogue)

■ ANIMALS

Crippling genetic faults 'being bred into dogs'

A tiny terrier died when a slipper thrown at it caused its skull to burst like a raw egg. The reason: an in-bred structural defect. In this article for *Süddeutsche Zeitung*, Arndt Hellmann and Ilse Weiss look at links between breeding and dog diseases and speak to some authorities in the field.

Some dog breeders seem to regard dogs as no more than fashion accessories. The welfare of the animal appears to play little role in their work.

Wilhelm Wegner from the Hanover Veterinary College took a closer look at the reputedly robust dachshund.

He discovered that between the ages of four and six there were numerous cases of what is called dachshund lameness.

Wegner's outspoken manner when it comes to openly talking about the causes of such diseases has, in his own words, turned him into "Germany's best-hated dog expert."

Dachshund lameness is a disease which causes a loss of the animal's mobility due to a contraction of the spinal cord and a calcification of the intervertebral disks.

It can be frequently observed among very small (chondro-dystrophic) breeds (chondros = cartilage, dystrophy = malnutrition).

The breeding of these extremely small breeds causes a premature ossification of the cartilaginous growth zone (epiphyseal joint) resulting from a lack of nutrition.

This prevents growth; the long bones and in many cases the facial bones too remain comparatively small.

Apart from the dachshund, pekingese, bassetts, spaniels and French bulldogs also suffer from this breeding variant.

Ottwart Geisel from the Institute for Animal Pathology at the University of Munich sees a direct link with the way the dogs are reared.

He claims that slippery floors and climbing stairs can increase the risk of dogs getting this disease.

There is an obvious conflict between the breeders and the scientists. Although officials of dog clubs do not dispute the fashionable character of many breeds they vehemently deny any link between breeding and animal diseases.

Breeding excesses do not only relate to the small representatives of the more than 500 breeds of dog.

The other extreme is macromomia (gigantism).

The breeding rules for the Irish wolfhound stipulates a shoulder height of at least 79 centimetres for the male. Only recently, a height of one metre was recorded.

Such ill-proportioned animals often find it difficult to move their massive bodies.

Vets primarily diagnose hip joint dysplasia (HD) among Saint Bernards, Collies, Great Danes, Rottweilers and German Alsatians. The list of breeds which suffer from HD, however, is a lot longer.

The Institute for Animal Breeding and Animal Hygiene at the University of Munich discovered in 1985 that the deformation of the hip joint (HD) is characterised by flattened condyles of the femur and a flattening of the glenoid cavity of the hip joint.

This means that the bones in the hip no longer fit together. This leads to a limited or complete inability of use." The clinical diagnosis is: lameness.

Scientists agree that a dog's hip joint dysplasia disposition is fixed in the genetic make-up or not.

"It has been undisputed for a long time now," said Ottwart Geisel, "that we are dealing with a genetic defect."

The American scientists Priester and Mulvihill already discovered that the risk of HD hereditability was 50 times greater in the case of large and oversized dogs.

It is hoped that radiological tests will prevent dogs suffering from HD from being used for breeding purposes.

In a comparison between the Hovawart and boxer races the Munich researchers were able to prove that 40 per cent of the one-year-old Hovawart offspring and 70 per cent of the boxer offspring showed radiological HD symptoms.

According to Ottwart Geisel there are still no generally acknowledged findings on the development and genetic basis of HD.

One of the theories according to which an interaction of several genes (polygenes) causes hip joint dysplasia is backed by the findings of the Munich research team.

In the opinion of the head of the analyses, Horst Kräusslich, however, the so-called kennel effect has the greatest influence on the development of HD.

This is a reference to the breeding of related animals, the consequence of the selection of dogs suitable for breeding, the feeding and rearing of the bitches, and the breeding and rearing of the pups.

The conditions under which dog breeding is carried out are not always acceptable. In some cases they violate the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals laws.

An investigation of the "dog factories" in Lower Bavaria confirmed this claim.

Near Deggendorf, for example, one breeder keeps over 40 bitches from various small breeds.

They are kept in 25 dark cages with a space of only three square metres each. In some of the boxes there are up to four bitches and males.

This leads to wild biting by the dogs. The injuries caused are often discovered much later and become inflamed.

The establishment of breeding standards sets the norm: whereas short-leggedness is viewed as normal in the case of the dachshund and is definitely desired: this attribute ranks as an unacceptable abnormality in the case of the German Alsatian.

The dog market is governed by the forces of supply and demand.

Cross-breeding or variations are good for business.

In the magazine *Hundejournal*, the magazine of the European Canine Sports Union, we find the following:

"The pekingese dog would not have its snub-nosed face without the deformation of its skull and jaw."

So far, however, these initiatives to limit deliberate or accidental misbreeding have remained ineffective.

Section 1.1b of the Prevention of Cruelty Against Animals Act prohibits the breeding of vertebrates if the breeder has reason to expect that parts of the animal's body or organs will be missing or unsuitable for the normal use of that

breed due to genetic defects and if this could cause pain, suffering or damage.

Dogs, once helpers, protectors and fighters in the interests of people in general, are often required to suit the limited interests of the breeder.

The breeding standards of many dog clubs have turned dogs into a fashion creation instead of a creature.

The Dalmatian, for example, owes its spotted coat to the Merle factor.

This genetic disposition can also be associated with blindness and deafness. The Yugoslavian creators know this.

The Dalmatian's country of origin has the right to change the corresponding breeding standards.

This is a stipulation laid down by the international umbrella organisation of dog breeders, the Fédération Cynologique Internationale (FCI).

Hans Wiblishäuser, breeding judge and chairman of the Bavarian regional group of the Association of German Dogkeepers (VDH), feels that the reason for the increase in defects is the rigid insistence on accepted breeding standards.

In his opinion, pekingese dogs and Chihuahuas are being bred in a direction which should not be encouraged.

With a weight of less than one kilogram the Mexican Chihuahua is the smallest dog in the world.

Because of its dwarfish size the suture between the bones of the skull (fontanelle) at the cerebral skull has only a weak link or is not linked at all.

Wegner described what this means for all very small breeds of dogs: "One super-mini-Yorkshire terrier dropped down dead after someone had thrown a slipper at it because the frequently perforated top of its skull burst like a raw egg."

In the case of the chihuahua, said Ekkehart Wiesner from the University of Munich, "the hole in the head is due to dwarfism" and that there can be various reasons for this.

Not all diseases, however, are clearly attributable to genetic defects. Wiesner differentiates between hereditary diseases, genetic environmental diseases and genetic deficiencies (health disorders). The three are often interlinked.

What, therefore, can be classed as a deformation? If dog breeding everywhere the breeder wants would appear to be allowed.

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As a girl lay in a coma in a Hamburg hospital, her friends sprayed the words: "For the girl, who slipped up" (sic), on the side of an S-Bahn (city commuter rail system) carriage. She had fallen from a moving train.

At the same time, the Bundesbahn (national railway system) management in Hamburg invited people to take part in a "Spray Happening" as a way of discovering young artistic talent. Eighteen turned up.

Hamburg, Munich and Dortmund are strongholds of this so-called "hip-hop" movement, the two elements of which are "surfing" and "spraying".

This new youth cult is fraught with danger and difficult for adults to peer into. One element is spraying brilliantly coloured cartoon scenes on trains and station walls; the other is a spectacular refinement.

The sprayer climbs out of a fast-moving train, suspends him- or herself outside, and paints on a "tag" (English word used. In this case, it means signature).

But there is another, and still more spectacular refinement to surfing: practitioners climb hand over hand on to the roof of the careering carriage before leaving an example of their handiwork behind.

A year ago, a 15-year-old youth in Hamburg was ripped from the carriage

Frankfurter Allgemeine

by a blast of air turbulence at speed, fell on to the line and broke his neck on a concrete sleeper.

The 14-year-old girl in the Hamburg hospital, whose injuries were caused by crashing into a pylon, was injured just a week after her 17-year-old friend was badly injured in a fall from a train.

Paintings on trains first appeared about three years ago. Since, the mania has spread throughout Europe, especially in big cities with their extensive commuter rail systems.

Bodo Claussen heads a special Bundesbahn (national railway system) commission investigating railway graffiti in Hamburg. He says: "At the beginning, we hoped that it would be a short-lived phenomenon." But it was not to be. More and more carriages and walls were sprayed and the number of accidents increased.

Recently, railway policemen (the railways have their own police on duty at stations) in Hamburg and colleagues from other parts of Germany got a closer insight into the workings of the hip-hop scene.

A search of houses in several cities realised thousands of "kamikaze photos", snapshots showing sprayers in action. The artists are like the surfers. They are not loners and need the applause and confirmation of their group.

Claussen produced a photograph showing a young sprayer taken by a friend. The sprayer was snapped hanging on the outside of a carriage and spraying on his autograph.

Hamburg railway police observe

DIVERSIONS

Sport, art and travel: a great way to die

other young people who prefer to limit their painting to stationary trains, carriages parked at night in the depot for example, with a mixture of anger and understanding.

Anger because of the cost of removing the paint; and understanding because, in the words of Herr Claussen, 33: Here we have young people, "products of our society who suffer, on the one side, from an excessive need for excitement provoked by the media; and, on the other, from the humdrum nature of real life."

He has spoken at length to many young people who have been arrested and interviewed. The cops-and-robbers relationship has, through the officers' skilful psychological approach, been somewhat improved.

In his office in the Hamburg Hauptbahnhof, a circular postcard from Munich is pinned to a board. It is scribbled all over and its mood is almost warm: "Hello, writer-killer. We've left our tags everywhere — greetings from Boden the ripper."

The contents of other letters and cards he has received seem clearly to show sprayers basically desire attention; they need people, for example the railway police, to talk to. Claussen says the graffiti artists come from all social backgrounds "from good families, from families living in barracks."

A typical example is 16-year-old Klaus who called himself "Sector" after a comic-strip character. He attends Realschule (intermediate school) as preparation for a vocational school and comes from a decent family. His parents had no idea, until the day he was caught, that he secretly sprayed trains.

It seems that relaxation and consciousness-training through yoga, meditation or autogenous training is out: brain training using a computer is in.

"Mind machines" have become the latest thing in the new-age scene. They are credited with being able to do lots of things, from achieving a deeper level of relaxation to increasing intelligence.

Externally, they resemble a combination of a Walkman and a hi-fi amplifier. In Berlin, everyone now has the chance to sample the wonders of the equipment, which was originally from America.

A newly opened studio in Berlin is, says the manager, 33-year-old Tom Sperlich, the first German fitness studio for psycho-relaxation" which, using "mind machines," can help clients to switch-off emotionally.

His partner is Paul Stoiber, 29.

Through word of mouth, almost 300 people from all social strata have heard about the studio and have turned up to

delivery us a "joyful and formative crucial experience."

This meeting provides an opportunity for a little chat and a "mutual sniff". Between the postman and the pups and can lay the foundation stone for a life-long friendly relationship.

If all this theory works out in practice a drastic decline in the number of attacks on postmen can be expected in future.

(dpa)

(Bremer Nachrichten, 5 April 1989)

A mutual sniff

Continued from page 12

ween the dog and the postman will lead to long-term success.

When a new puppy arrives in a household the dog owners should inform the Post Office and make a "date" with the postman so that the dog becomes familiar with the postal

and criminology." Lawyers and joggers involved because painting a train classes as damage to property (92 times, sprayers even paint entire train, a fact which is registered proudly by sprayer as "whole train" (English, again used).

It costs 36,000 marks to clear an entire train. If a sprayer is caught, she or the parents have to pay. Established through civil court action applicable for 30 years, so some whose parents don't have the money can expect to have their future case sequestered.

It is difficult to estimate just how many railway graffiti artists there are in Germany. In Hamburg, there thought to be about 200 between ages of 15 and 22.

The names they use and the ways they adopt seem almost entirely comics. Claussen: "Most believe in their artistic ability but they are in most cases only rubbish."

He keeps in his office drawers & s of photographs of graffiti. Some, someone with talent turns. One, from Munich, was called "Lotto", who now works legally and makes money by painting such things as the walls or truck tarps with dark impressions drawn from comic style.

Claussen says the work of the commission has almost a social therapeutic quality to it. Understanding the key to the psychology of the喷者. That is why the Hamburg railway sometimes act as an art agency. If one comes and asks where they are, their garage painted in an original they are referred to Claussen.

Surfing is another question because it is a threat to life and limb. It is a risk taking courage within the risk taken out of tendon.

Most surfers can barely describe it. To judge from appearances the audience was cheerful and, if you will, well off. There were no people there to whom life had been cruel, people who did not have money.

Thomas LIMMIG, Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung für Deutschland, 8 April 1989

Switching on the computer and switching off the stress

get plugged in and switched off. They are stretched out on a soft mattress for about 40 minutes per session and connected to the electronic stress killer.

There are three machines which work along the same principles. They manufacture electronic light and sound impulses in adjustable doses.

Slowly, European scientists are

beginning to take an interest in the

chances. In January, Sperlich took a machine to the neurology department of a Viennese hospital to be studied.

The machine is not necessarily suitable for everyone. One Berliner admitted he had latent epilepsy, still having uncontrollable convulsions until Sperlich took off the mask.

Sperlich said: "That was not an isolated case, but in principle, it's a lawless less enough procedure."

A doctor had confirmed to him the most serious side effects to be expected were facial contractions and nausea. A greater danger was that clients would relax so much that afterwards, they would run under a passing car.

In any case, Sperlich gets customers to sign a waiver saying they are aware of the treatment at their own risk.

(Lübecker Nachrichten, 6 April 1989)

enced through visual and acoustic stimulation.

The light and sound frequency of the mind machine are set so that brain cells adjust to the wave length which are calibrated to correspond with the various human states of consciousness.

Possibly this tranquil cheerfulness, which nevertheless did not ignore the problems and needs of marriage and the family, frightened off the politicians, who did not make an appearance in the Beethovenhalle.

They were distinguished by their absence — with a few exceptions — apart from keeping their eye on the fact that a tenth of the total costs of DM1.5 million were picked up by the Family Affairs Ministry.

The proof that the congress was independent of politics and political parties could not dispel the suspicion that some one had backed out, possibly out of concern.

As a point of orientation the people questioned were given a list of 19 headings extending from the decorative style for the home, children's education, where to have holidays, styles of dress to the individual choice of doctor and

cultures and foundations take advantage of this offer.

All in all, between eight and nine thousand people visit the Kavaliershaus every year.

The lecture hall has a capacity of 170 people; it is also possible to fit up loudspeakers to hear the lecture in a claustrum and even in the garden.

The Siemens Foundations invites guests to come along to at most 25 lectures a year.

The house is also used for other scientific gatherings, between ninety and one hundred times a year, and the Foundation provides the rooms and the catering.

Max Planck Institutes, academies, fa-

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THE GERMAN TRIBUNE

HORIZONS

Drawing some lessons about the state of the family



even through a few weeks ago there was a flare up of demands for improvements in these benefits.

It remains to be seen if the influence of the Bonn congress was strong enough to have some effect on the awareness of the benefits.

The initiators did not intend it to be just a wailing congress, complaining about how bad things were for those who decided to have a family, and how irresponsible it could be to bring children into the world today.

The congress intended to look at the positive side of things; the atmosphere in Bonn was creative rather than destructive.

Countess Gabriele Plettenberg was president of the congress organisation. Her concept was astonishingly simple, one inclined to say un-German as well.

Without wanting to ignore reports about the crisis in the family, her idea was to demonstrate what there was in favour of the family, why it was worthwhile to speak out for marriage and the family.

This was particularly important because at the present one in three marriages in the Federal Republic ends up in divorce, and 1.3 million children of divorced parents have to grow up without being members of a family in the fullest meaning of that term.

Countess Plettenberg said that the congress set out to discuss why the majority of marriages held together. She said: "This did not mean announcing a world intact, but giving encouragement."

This optimism, unusual for Bonn but realistic, might have been the source of the criticism that the congress reduced the realities, fading out as it were the normal rules, whatever they are.

To judge from appearances the audience was cheerful and, if you will, well off. There were no people there to whom life had been cruel, people who did not have money.

The signal the Bonn government gave three years ago with child allowance and parental leave seemed to have inadequate force to impinge on West German society.

Despite the anxieties and needs, the Bonn congress reflected a few of these aspects contrary to expectations, and gave politics an important shot in the arm as to how one of the most important aspects of the future can be discussed good-humouredly.

taking place in the Federal Republic and they have to live with the danger that after they are over they are forgotten. The Family Congress in Bonn is also threatened with this.

Its atmosphere of confidence, the naturalness with which all generations spoke about Christian ideas of marriage, family and the rules of conception, creating a forum for the exchange of ideas, all this deserved that the message from this event should find an echo in the consciousness of German society: family is the future.

The seminar papers reflected the international tone and quality of the congress; from Reagan adviser Carl Anderson, Zhang De-Wei from China, Jerome Lejeune from France and Susan Stanford from Canada to Mother Teresa from India.

The contributions are available from the congress office which will remain open in Bonn for a few months. But more important than these was the frankness of the verdict happiness is more important than material riches.

Jeanne Hersch from Switzerland defined the family in this manner: "It is an idea, a theory and not something sociological to do with living."

She added that it was also not a means of stabilising society "or for the reproduction of a belief. It is not eating together, a private meal, and sleeping together in mutual security. Family is all of that and a lot more besides. It is perhaps life and full of contradictions."

Despite the anxieties and needs, the Bonn congress reflected a few of these aspects contrary to expectations, and gave politics an important shot in the arm as to how one of the most important aspects of the future can be discussed good-humouredly.

Martin Lohmann
(Rheinischer Merkur Christ und Welt,
Bonn, 7 April 1989)

On the subject of affirmations of rational presentations . . .

health insurance. As a means of expressing themselves most people, 59 per cent of them, put "the way in which my home is decorated," and the choice of people with whom they associated at the top.

This emerged from an inquiry by the Allensbach Public Opinion Institute into what sectors in life were most important to people in this country for them to develop their own image of themselves.

It is obvious that these are the aspects in which most people realise their own personalities, just as the emphasis given to their leisure activities.

Of those questioned 55 per cent said they placed the most value in leisure activities which allowed them to express themselves.

It was probably not surprising that for women the choice of their clothes was very important to presenting themselves to the world as they saw themselves.

People with whom one associated, leisure activities, style of education and where to take holidays were also important, even though when it came to the individual choice of doctor and

the top psychologists.

The answers to the Allensbach questionnaire amounted to an affirmative to such a rational presentation of oneself.

The inquiry showed that 23 per cent gave importance to the shops where they did their shopping. This was emphasised by ordinary workers just as much as company managers or executives (22 per cent). The self-employed gave even greater importance to this — 34 per cent.

A special residential area was named by 22 per cent as an aim of their personal wishes. The differences between the various social levels were noticeable, but less glaring than one would have assumed.

This aspect was emphasised by 24 per cent of ordinary workers and civil servants, 26 per cent by managers and company executives and 28 per cent among the self-employed.

Only 21 per cent of those questioned regarded their car as an object for satisfying their personal wishes. Although the car has definitely not lost its function as a status symbol, this function is exploited tacitly.

But more and more ordinary workers (28 per cent) and young people (27 per cent) would like to give vent to their self-expression through family life. In this respect 36 per cent emphasised the education of their children.

One in three (among the men 40 per cent) thought about their careers, their job with which they would like to be identified.

(Allgemeine Zeitung, Mainz, 22 March 1989)